

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 462

SECDEF WASHDC

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AMEMBASSY BONN

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USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 9166

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: PRESS STATEMENT BY POLISH MBFR

DELEGATION HEAD STRULAK, NOV 5, 1973

SUMMARY: ON NOV 5, POLISH REP ACTING FOR PACT GAVE HIGHLY INTERESTING CONFERENCE TO ABOUT FIFTY MEMBERS OF THE PRESS, INTENDED AS COUNTERWEIGHT TO QUARLES OCT 31 CONFERENCE. IN BRIEF OPENING STATEMENT, STRULAK SAID THAT THERE WERE GOOD REASONS FOR A GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THE POLISH DELEGATION CONSIDERED AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO BE WITHIN REACH IF THE SAME DEGREE OF GOOD WILL IS SHOWN BY ALL PARTICIPANTS. HE MENTIONED THE AREA

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OF NEGOTIATIONS AS HAVING BEEN ESTABLISHED. HIS ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS SEEMED INTENDED TO CONVEY IMPRESSION OF GOOD ATMOSPHERE AT OUTSET OF TALKS AND REASONABLENESS AND COMMON SENSE ON PART OF PACT. SUMMARY TEXT OF HIS STATEMENT AND OF QUESTIONS

AND ANSWERS FOLLOWS BELOW: END SUMMARY.

STATEMENT TO THE PRESS
MADE BY MR. TADEUSZ, MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY,
HEAD OF THE POLISH DELEGATION TO VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS,
ON NOVEMBER 5, 1973

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS,

WE THOUGHT IT USEFUL TO MEET WITH YOU HERE, IN ORDER TO
CONTINUE OUR CONTACTS ESTABLISHED ALREADY DURING THE PRE-
PARATORY CONSULTATIONS AND, AT THE BEGINNING OF THESE IMPORT-
ANT NEGOTIATIONS, TO INFORM YOU OF OUR APPROACH TO THEM,
AN APPROACH WHICH WE SHARE WITH OUR ALLIES, OTHER SOCIALIST STATES.

THE GOAL OF DISARMAMENT IN GENERAL, AND THAT OF MILITARY
DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE, IN PARTICULAR, HAS BEEN ACTIVELY
PURSUED BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FOR MANY YEARS. IT WAS THE
SUBJECT OF THE KNOWN INITIATIVES AND PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD OVER
THE PERIOD OF MORE THAN FIFTEEN YEARS BY POLAND, BY THE SOVIET
UNION AND BY THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC WITH THE ACTIVE
SUPPORT OF OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.

IN RECENT YEARS THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE REDUCTION OF
ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAS BEEN INCLUDED,
AS A MOST IMPORTANT PART, TO THE FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAMMES
OF THE SOVIET UNION, POLAND AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES -
AS REFLECTED BOTH IN THEIR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL STATEMENTS AND
IN JOINT DOCUMENTS, SUCH AS THE PRAGUE DECLARATION OF JANUARY
26, 1972 AND THE COMMUNIQUE ON THE MEETING OF THE LEADERS OF THESE
COUNTRIES IN CRIMEA ON THE 30TH AND 31ST OF JAN.

THE INITIATIVE OF THE SOCIALIST STATES CONCERNING REDUCTION
OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WAS ONCE AGAIN STRESSED
AND EXPOUNDED BY SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CPSU L. BREZNIEV IN HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE WORLD CON-
GRESS OF PEACE FORCES IN MOSCOW, MADE ON 26TH OCTOBER 1973,
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I.E. ON THE EVE OF THE VIENNA TALKS.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE OPENING ON THE 30TH OF OCTOBER 1973 OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES, ARMAMENTS AND
ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE IS A SOURCE OF OUR
PROFOUND SATISFACTION.

AS I SAID IN MY OPENING STATEMENT ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30,
WE HAVE COME TO VIENNA WITH A HOPE AND THE WILL TO SEEK AND
FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH CONFRONT US, WORKING IN
CLOSE COOPERATION WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS. BY THE SOLUTIONS
WE MEAN AGREEMENT ON CONCRETE AND MEANINGFUL MEASURES FOR
REDUCING FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE AGREED AREA OF CENTRAL

EUROPE.

THERE ARE GOOD REASONS FOR OUR HOPE AND FOR A GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE PROSPECTS FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS, EVEN THOUGH WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES TO BE TACKLED.

FIRST, THERE IS AN EVIDENT PROCESS OF THE GROWING POLITICAL DETENTE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. A MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT IN THIS RESPECT IS THE PROGRESSING NORMALIZATION AND EXPANSION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA. MARKED BY SUCH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AS THE DECLARATION ON THE BASES OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES OF 1972 AND THE AGREEMENT CONCERNING THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR OF 1973, AS WELL AS SALT AGREEMENTS.

SECOND, THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, DETENTE AND COOPERATION HAS STRUCK DEEP ROOTS ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. IT IS BASED ON A SOLID NETWORK OF NORMALIZED OR NORMALIZING BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

IT IS REFLECTED, CONTINENT-WIDE, IN THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE WHICH IS INDEED A MILESTONE IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF ENDEAVOURS TO FIRMLY ESTABLISH PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND COOPERATION AS RULES OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL LIFE. OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE PROGRESS OF VIENNA TALKS ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF INVOL-

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ABILITY OF FRONTIERS, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, NON-USE OF FORCE OR THE THREAT OF ITS USE, AS WELL AS NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES.

THIRD, IT IS IN CENTRAL EUROPE - THE REGION THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO DEAL WITH, THAT THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BASED ON THE RECOGNITION OF TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES HAS REMARKABLY ADVANCED.

A SERIES OF TREATIES AND OTHER DEVELOPMENT WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO IT ARE KNOWN TO ALL OF YOU.

FOURTH, THERE IS AN APPARENT COMMON INTEREST IN CONSOLIDATION OF THE POLITICAL DETENTE, AS WELL AS STABILITY, SECURITY AND PEACE IN EUROPE THROUGH MEANS OF MILITARY DETENTE.

THERE IS A SENSE OF CONVICTION, HERE IN VIENNA, THAT THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED BY LOWERING THE LEVELS OF MILITARY POTENTIALS IN THE AGREED AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

FIFTH, THE PARTICIPANTS OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ALREADY PREPARED A SOLID GROUND FOR THE PRESENT TALKS, IN THE FORM OF UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED DURING THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS HELD IN THE SPRING. THE UNDERSTANDING BECAME POSSIBLE THANKS TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE AND STEADFAST EFFORT OF ALL THE PARTICIPATING STATES. WE HAVE ELEVEN POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS OF THE FUTURE AGREEMENTS. THE TERRITORIES OF THE SEVEN OF THEM IN FACT CONSTITUTE THE AREA WITHIN WHICH REDUCTIONS WILL TAKE PLACE. WE HAVE DEFINED THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, NAMELY THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF PARTIES TO THE FUTURE AGREEMENT OR AGREEMETS. TODAY ONCE AGAIN WE UPHOLD THIS PRINCIPLE AND STRESS ITS IMPORTANCE. WE OUTLINED THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS BY POINTING OUT THAT THEY RELATE TO REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES, IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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POLAND, ALONG WITH OTHER SOCIALIST STATES CAME TO VIENNA WITH THE CLARITY OF PURPOSE AND INTENTIONS. AS DECLARED AT THE CRIMEAN MEETING OF THE LEADERS OF OUR NATIONS, OUR GOVERNMENTS DESIRE TO CONTRIBUTE THEIR UTMOST TO THE EXPANSION OF POLITICAL DETENTE IN EUROPE BY COMPLETING IT WITH THE CONCRETE MEASURES AIMED AT MILITARY DETENTE.

POLISH DELEGATION CONSIDERS AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO BE WITHIN OUR REACH, IF THE SAME DEGREE OF GOODWILL IS SHOWN BY ALL PARTICIPANTS. WE WISH TO AVOID UNNECESSARILY PROLONGED DEBATES.

THE BASIC OUTLINE OF THE PROGRAMME WHICH SOCIALIST STATES PROPOSE TO DISCUSS DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS STRAIGHTFORWARD AND CONCRETE.

TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE HIGH LEVELS OF THE MILITARY POTENTIALS CONCENTRATED IN THE AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE WE ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE THEIR REDUCTION, EMBRACING LAND AND AIR FORCES, BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN. NATURALLY, WE SHALL ALSO SPEAK IN FAVOUR OF INCLUDING INTO THE ENVISAGED REDUCTIONS THE MOST DEADLY WEAPON SYSTEMS KNOWN TO BE STATIONED WITHIN THIS AREA. SUCH REDUCTIONS, IN AN AGREED VIEW OF SOCIALIST STATES, COULD BE PRACTICALLY STARTED ALREADY IN 1975.

THE REALISTIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE REQUIRES THAT IT SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT WITH DUE RESPECT TO THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES WHICH SATISFIES THE OBJECTIVE NEEDS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY IS THAT, WHILE LOWERING THE LEVEL OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, THIS RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES SHOULD BE MAINTAINED.

THE FUTURE AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS CONCERNING REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE WE VIEW AS A COLLECTIVE ENDEAVOUR OF THE COUNTRIES WHOSE TERRITORY IS WITHIN THE AGREED AREA AS WELL AS THOSE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF THE VIENNS NEGOTIATIONS WHO HAVE THEIR TROOPS WITHIN THE MENTIONED AREA. CONSEQUENTLY, POLAND MAKES A POINT THAT ALL THE ELEVEN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE REDUCTION.

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AT THE SAME TIME, POLAND RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF ANY INTERESTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH DUE PROCEDURES, IF THEY SO DESIRE.

TO SUM UP OUR POSITION, WE ARE FULLY AWARE THAT PEACE, SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLE, AS WELL AS OF OTHER NATIONS ARE AT STATE.

THEREFORE, WE STAND FOR CONCRETE RESULTS. WE SHALL ENDEAVOUR TO ACHIEVE THEM BUILDING UPON ELEMENTS OF CONCORD IN THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THESE TALKS. THE CONSTRUCTIVE MOOD WHICH HAS ALREADY MADE ITSELF FELT IS OF GREAT VALUE AND WE HOPE THAT THIS APPROACH WILL CONTINUE.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWER

Q: HAVE VARIOUS POLISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS INSTITUTES PARTICIPATED IN THE PREPARATION FOR MBFR? HAS THE NEAR-EAST CRISIS HAD AN INFLUENCE ON THE MBFR TALKS? A: AS ONE OF THE POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN ANY FUTURE AGREEMENT, WE HAVE HAD TO MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR SERIOUS TALKS. THESE WERE DONE ON MANY LEVELS. AS TO THE NEAR-EAST, I THINK THERE HAS BEEN UNAMITY BY ALL, NAMELY THAT HOWEVER DIFFICULT, THESE CONDITIONS SHOULD NOT NEGATIVELY EFFECT THE TALKS. Q: AFTER THE PREPARATORY TALKS, ASSOCIATED MEASURES HAVE BEEN MENTIONED. WHAT KIND WILL THEY BE? A: ASSOCIATED MEASURES ARE A COMPONENT OF THE AGREED SUBJECTS OF THE TALKS. IN OUR VIEW THEY ARE SOME MEASURES CONNECTED WITH THE PRINCIPLE SUBJECT MATTER, THAT IS, REDUCTION. IT IS YET TO BE DISCUSSED OF WHAT KIND, FORM AND SUBJECT THESE WILL BE. THE TERM ASSOCIATED MEASURES IS A DERIVATIVE FROM THE MAIN SUBJECT. Q: WHAT IS THE ATMOSPHERE IN VIENNA? A: I HAVE TO REACH FOR SUPERLATIVES-IT IS AN EXCELLENT ONE. BUT TO BE MORE PRECISE, IT IS VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND BUSINESS-LIKE. THERE IS AN AFFORT BY ALL TO LOOK FOR COMMON ELEMENT TO BRING PEACE TO EUROPE. THE PREPARATORY CONSULTATIONS HAVE ALREADY BROUGHT GOOD RESULTS. THE OPENING STATEMENTS SHOW THAT THIS APPROACH CONTINUES. HENCE WE HAVE MANY THINGS WE CAN BUILD ON. Q: THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES ABOUT THE REDUCTION OF ALL ARMAMENTS AT THE SAME TIME. WHAT ARE YOUR PRIORITIES? THE WEST LAUNCHED THE IDEA THAT IT WOULD PREFER SOVIET-US REDUCTIONS IN THE FIRST PHASE. IS THIS ACCEPTABLE?

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A: WHETHER THIS IS ACCEPTABLE WILL APPEAR IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE POLISH APPROACH IS TO VISUALIZE BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN FORCES OF ALL ELEVEN STATES TO BE INCLUDED. THE POSSIBLE STAGES CAN ONLY BE THE RESULT OF DETAILED DISCUSSIONS. Q: WILL YOU INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE START? A: THAT IS OUR APPROACH. THE

MILITARY SITUATION IS COMPLEX AND NONE OF ITS ASPECTS SHOULD BE LEFT OUT. Q: WHAT ARE YOUR IDEAS ABOUT SYMETRIC VERSUS ASYMETRIC REDUCTIONS? A: ASYMETRIC DEPENDS ON HOW YOU SEE THINGS AND FROM WHAT ANGLE. IT IS A SUBJECTIVE THING. IN THE DISCUSSIONS VARIOUS ELEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE REVIEWED. WE PROCEED FROM EXISTING RELATIONSHIPS. Q: DO YOU HAVE A CLEAR PICTURE OF THE FORCES AND WHAT THEY ARE? IS THERE COMMON AGREEMENT ON SOLDIERS AND TANKS FOR INSTANCE? A: OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE A CLEAR PICTURE. ALL PARTICIPANTS MUST HAVE SOME OF THIS BASIC KNOWLEDGE, THEN PROCEED FROM THERE. Q: YOU TALK ABOUT A STAGE-BY-STAGE REDUCTION BY ALL ELEVEN STATES? ARE YOU EXCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US IN THE FIRST STAGE?

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

A. WHEN I SAY STAGE-BY-STAGE I MEAN IT WILL FOLLOW FROM THE NATURE OF THE TALKS AND THE AGREEMENTS TO BE REACHED. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY WHICH FORCE WILL COME FIRST. I PREFER NOT TO BE SPECIFIC AT THIS STAGE. BUT WE SHOULD STRIVE TO IT ENCOMPASSING THE TROOPS OF ALL ELEVEN PARTICIPANTS. Q: DOES THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY SHARE THE WESTERN VIEW THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN ULTIMATE CEILING ON GROUND FORCES? A: WE SHOULD PROCEED WITH THE LOWERING OF FORCE LEVELS. Q: I ASSUME YOUR INITIAL POSITION IS NOT NECESSARILY YOUR FINAL ONE. A: OUR POSITION NOW REPRESENTS AN APPROACH, AND NOT ALL THE DETAILS. ONLY THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL SEE AN ELABORATION. Q: WHAT IMPORTANCE DO YOU ATTACH TO THE TALKS? A: I WOULD HAVE TO CHOOSE A SUPERALTIVE AGAIN. IT IS A VERY IMPORTANT FORUM FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH GREAT INFLUENCE ON THE RELATIONS IN EUROPE
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AND IN THE WORLD. HENCE WE SHOULD DO OUR BEST. Q: IS THERE AN INTERACTION BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR? IF GENEVA GOES WELL, WILL IT SPEED UP MATTERS IN VIENNA? A: IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO SPEAK ABOUT AN INTER-RELATION IN THE SENSE OF HOW THESE MEETINGS ARE ORGANIZED. THE TWO PROCESSES ARE BEING GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE RULES AND SPECIAL SUBJECT MATTERS. CERTAINLY WE SEE A FAVORABLE INFLUENCE OF THE GENEVA DECISIONS AND THE ATMOSPHERE HER. Q: THE US DELEGATE IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT STRESSED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO ARTIFICIAL DEADLINE. YOU MENTIONED THAT YOU DID NOT WANT ANY LONG DEBATES, BUT ALSO THE YEAR 1975. DOES THAT YEAR REPRESENT THE CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS? A: FIRST OF ALL I SAID WE

ARE AGAINST UNNECESSARY PROLONGED DEBADE, AND 1975 IS THE POSSIBLE BEGINNING OF REDUCTION MEASURES. Q: WHAT ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESS? A: THIS DEPENDS VERY MUCH ON THE FLOW OF THE TALKS. MUCH WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL. IN THE SPIRIT OF TRYING TO GET A FAVORABLE PRESS AND ALSO THE PUBLIC, I SHOULD ONLY PROMISE THAT WE WILL MAINTAIN CONTACTS WITH YOU. Q: ARE YOU SEEKING FOR POLAND OR FOR THE WARSAW PACT? A: I AM SPEAKING FOR THE POLISH DELEGATION, BUT POLAND'S POSITION IS SHARED BY THE OTHER STATES. Q: THE AIR FORCE IS MENTIONED IN THE EAST-EUROPEAN OPENING STATEMENT. WHAT REDUCTIONS DO YOU ENVISAGE IN THIS FILED? A: THIS ONE OF THE PROBLEMS TO BE DISCUSSED AND GOES DEEP INTO THE SUBJECT MATTER. IT IS NOT BEYOND THE IMAGINATION THAT MODALITIES CAN BE WORKED OUT. THIS REFERS ALSO TO OTHER TYPES OF FORCES. Q: THERE SEEMS TO BE AN EAST-WEST DISAGREEMENT OVER THE EVALUATION OF THE EXISTING FORCES ON BOTH SIDES. A: THE DIFFICULTY IS TO "DISAGREE" WITHOUT DISCUSSING SPECIFICS. I WOULD RATHER NOT ANSWER THIS QUESTION. Q: AREN'T THERE CERTAIN DISPARITIES IN MANPOWER FORCE STRUCTURE AND GEOGRAPHY? A: THESE DISPARITIES ARE SIMILAR TO THE ASYMETRICS; IT IS RATHER THE DIFFERENCE IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE FORCES AND THAT IS TO BE DISCUSSED.

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